

Message Text

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11

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAM-01

IO-10 NEA-09 /071 W

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R 100500Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7843

INFO AMCONSUL ZANZIBAR UNN

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TEL AVIV, DURBAN, JOHANNESBURG BONN FOR INFO

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OAU, XA

SUBJECT: SECOND DAY OF OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS SESSION

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 1016 AND PREVIOUS

1. SUMMARY: IN SECOND DAY OF SPECIAL OAU SESSION, ZAMBIA
AND FRELIMO DEFENDED CONTACTS WHICH THEY, TANZANIA,
AND BOTSWANA HAVE HAD WITH SOUTH AFRICA IN SEARCH
FOR LIBERATION OF RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, AND ZAMBIAN FONMIN
MWAANGA CITED AS EVIDENCE THEIR SUCCESS THAT VORSTER HAD NOW
PROMISED TO WITHDRAW ALL SECURITY FORCES FROM RHODESIA BY THE
END OF MAY. MWAANGA OUTLINED IN SOME DETAIL ZAMBIAN
POLICY TOWARDS PROBLEMS OF RHODESIA, NAMIBIA, AND
SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID, BASED ON PRINCIPLES
OF 1969 LUSAKA DECLARATION. WHILE SWAPO REPRESENTATIVE
GENERALLY ENDORSED PRINCIPLE OF CONTACTS, SOUTH AFRICAN
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ANC AND PAC DENOUNCED IT AND CALLED FOR A REDEFINITION

OF SOUTH AFRICAN PROBLEM AS A COLONIAL ONE. COMMITTEE HAS BEEN DESIGNATED TO DRAFT POLICY STATEMENT ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, BUT WHETHER OAU SESSION WILL MOVE TO CONSTRUCTIVE CLOSE OR BOG DOWN IN IDEOLOGICAL WRANGLING REMAINS UNCERTAIN. END SUMMARY.

2. ZAMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER VERNON MWAANGA'S APRIL 8 ADDRESS TO SPECIAL OAU SESSION, WHICH REPRINTED IN FULL IN TANZANIA DAILY NEWS APRIL 9, WAS LONG AND FORTHRIGHT DEFENSE OF ZAMBIA'S LONG STANDING COMMITMENT TO LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND HEAVY HUMAN AND ECONOMIC PRICE SHE HAS PAID OVER THE YEARS IN AID LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, MWAANGA DEFENDED POLICY OF CONTACTS ON BASIS OF PRACTICAL RESULTS THEY HAD ACHIEVED, AND ACCUSED CRITICS OF HYPOCRISY AND OF REPRESENTING "MICROPHONE REVOLUTION BASED ON MAKING NICE SPEECHES FOR PUBLIC CONSUMPTION AT HOME".

3. CONTACTS WITH VORSTER HAD ACHIEVED THE FOLLOWING, MWAANGA ASSERTED:

(A) RELEASE OF ZIMBABWE NATIONALIST LEADERS;

(B) ASSURANCES THAT ALL SOUTH AFRICAN SECURITY FORCES WILL BE WITHDRAWN FROM RHODESIA BY END OF MAY 1975;

(C) PRESSURE ON SMITH REGIME TO ACCEPT ANC AS AUTHENTIC REPRESENTATIVE OF ZIMBABWEAN PEOPLE;

(D) A TURN IN SOUTH AFRICAN OPINION AGAINST SMITH REGIME;

(E) ACCEPTANCE OF INEVITABILITY OF MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA AND WILLINGNESS TO ASSIST IN ACHIEVING IT BY PEACEFUL MEANS, AND

(F) SECOND RELEASE OF SITHOLE FROM DETENTION.

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DESPITE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES ON APARTHEID, MWAANGA SAID "... WE WOULD BE LESS THAN HONEST IF WE DID NOT ACKNOWLEDGE THAT PRIME MINISTER VORSTER ...HAS HONORED HIS WORD ON THE CONCRETE ISSUES WE HAVE DEALT WITH UNDER DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES. WE KNOW HIS LIMITATIONS. HE KNOWS OUR LIMITATIONS TOO."

4. ZAMBIA CONTINUED TO WANT IMMEDIATE MAJORITY RULE

IN ZIMBABWE, MWAANGA SAID, BY PEACEFUL MEANS IF POSSIBLE AND IF NOT BY ARMED STRUGGLE. BUT THIS WOULD DEPEND ON UNITY AMONG ZIMBAWABEANS ON THEIR POLITICAL LINE AGAINST SMITH. "NO COUNTRY, NO PEOPLE CAN CONTINUE TO MAKE SACRIFICES IN BLOOD IF THOSE BEING ASSISTED TURN THEIR WEAPONS AGAINST EACH OTHER ... WE WILL NOT SUPPORT NOW OR IN FUTURE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WHICH ARE SOWING SEEDS OF CIVIL WAR AFTER INDEPENDENCE." MWAANGA ASSERTED ZAMBIAN RESPONSIBILITY FOR FREEDOM FIGHTERS ON ZAMBIAN SOIL, AND NOTED PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S INVITATION TO OAU LIBERATION COMMITTEE MEMBERS TO PARTICIPATE IN SPECIAL COMMISSION INVESTIGATION OF HERBERT CHITEPO ASSASSINATION.

5. ON NAMIBIA, MWAANGA NOTED SOUTH AFRICA NOW ACCEPTED PRINCIPLE OF INDEPENDENCE OF TERRITORY, AND WAS READY TO GRANT IT AS SOON AS ITS INHABITANTS DECIDED ON THE FORM INDEPENDENCE SHOULD TAKE, SO THESE ISSUES NOW CLARIFIED. WHAT REMAINED WAS THE AFRICAN DEMAND THAT NAMIBIA BE GRANTED INDEPENDENCE AS A UNITARY STATE, AND SOUTH AFRICA WAS WILLING TO CONSIDER THIS OPTION. THUS, AS EVENTS WERE MOVING FAST, "OUR SWAPO BROTHERS MUST ADOPT A MULTIPLE STRATEGY APPROACH WHICH MUST STRENGTHEN THEIR INFLUENCE THROUGHOUT THE NAMIBIAN TERRITORY," OR SWAPO "COULD BE FORCED TO TAKE UP ARMS TO FIGHT A BLACK GOVERNMENT IN NAMIBIA," WHICH WOULD POSE PROBLEMS FOR EVERYONE.

6. FINALLY, ON SOUTH AFRICA, MWAANGA REITERATED THAT IT WAS AN INDEPENDENT, SOVEREIGN STATE AND NOT A COLONY. HE SAID ZAMBIA CONTINUED TO ABHOR APARTHEID BUT RECOGNIZED THAT MILITARY STRENGTH OF SOUTH AFRICA WAS KEY TO THE SOLUTION OF RHODESIAN AND NAMIBIAN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PROBLEMS AND "UNLESS WE RECOGNIZE SOUTH AFRICA AS A POWER OR REAL FORCE IN THE NEW WIND OF CHANGE, THE STRUGGLE WILL ENTER A PERIOD OF A VICIOUS CIRCLE TOO COSTLY FOR US AND AFRICA TO ENDURE." THEREFORE, ZAMBIA HAD ENTERED INTO CONTACTS (NOT DIALOGUE OR DETENTE) WITH VORSTER AT LATTER'S INITIATIVE, WITH FULL KNOWLEDGE OF OAU, WITH "SOLE OBJECTIVE ... TO LIBERATE ZIMBABWE, SECURE THE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA, AND DEMAND THE END OF APARTHEID". "IF SOUTH AFRICA WILLS IT, THERE CAN BE PEACEFUL CHANGE TO MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE AND FULL NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE IN NAMIBIA. THIS IS FACT, NOT FICTION." MWAANGA THEN LISTED THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CONTACTS WITH VORSTER CITED ABOVE. THE PEOPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA, BLACK, BROWN AND EVEN WHITE, MUST WAGE THEIR WON STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID, AND

ZAMBIA WILL HELP THEM AS IT HAS PEOPLE OF MOZAMBIQUE,
ANGOLA, RHODESIA AND NIMIBIA. BUT AS IN THOSE COUNTRIES,
"WE WILL NOT TAKE UP ARMS TO FIGHT SOUTH AFRICA. THAT
MUST BE THE CONSCIOUS DECISION OF THE PEOPLE OF
SOUTH AFRICA THEMSELVES." HE DID NOT MENTION EITHER
ANC OR PAC.

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ACTION AF-06

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NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-10

SAM-01 NEA-09 /071 W

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R 100500Z APR 75

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INFO AMCONSUL ZANZIBAR UNN

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7. STATEMENT FROM FRELIMO PRESIDENT SAMORA MACHEL,
READ BY VICE PRESIDENT MARCELINO DOS SANTOS, ALSO
DEFENDED RECENT TRANZANIAN, ZAMBIAN, BOTSWANAN AND
MOZAMBIKAN CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA BECAUSE THEIR
"SOLE PURPOSE..WAS TO MAKE SOUTH AFRICA WITHDRAW ITS
TROOPS FROM RHODESIA AND RESPECT THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE'S
RIGHT TO INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY..."
IF SOUTH AFRICA WANTS DIALOGUE, IT SHOULD BE WITH ANC
AND PAC. THE LIBERATION OF MOZAMBIQUE AND

ANGOLA WERE SURROUNDING SOUTHERN AFRICA WITH "THOUSANDS OF KILOMETERS OF FREE BORDERS", AND THIS CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCE "ALLOW US TO IMPOSE IMMEDIATELY THE EVACUATION OF (SOUTH AFRICAN) FORCES FROM RHODEISA". MACHEL ACCUSED SMITH REGIME OF KILLING CHITEPO, AND SAID MOZAMBIQUE WOULD SUPPORT ZIMBABWEAN STRUGGLE IN WHATEVER FORM ANC DECIDED IT TO BE, BUT WARNED THAT "WE CANNOT SUPPORT INDIVIDUAL AMBITION AGAINST LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE PEOPLE. WE CANNOT SUPPORT THE RRONEOUS DEFINITION OF WHO IS THE ENEMY."

8. SWAPO'S SAM NUJOMA CALLED ON SOUTH AFRICA TO NEGOTIATE WITH IT FOR INDEPENDENCE OF UNIFIED NAMIBIA, AND DEFENDED ACTIONS OF TANZANIA, ZAMBIA AND BOTSWANA AS IMPLEMENTATION OF LUSAKA DECLARATION. BUT SOUTH AFRICA HAD NOT YET LISTENED TO THEM, AND IT WAS THEREFORE NECESSARY TO CONTINUE ARMED STRUGGLE WITH GREATER FORCE.

9. SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS' OLIVER TAMBO AND PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS (PAC) SPOKESMAN BOTH DEMANDED THAT SOUTH AFRICA BE CONSIDERED AS A COLONY RATHER THAN AN INDEPENDENT NATION, AND DENOUNCED ANY CONTACTS WITH VORSTER REGIME.

10. TANZANIAN PRESS, IN CLEARLY OFFICIALLY INSPIRED EDITORIAL APRIL 9, STRONGLY ENDORSED MWAANGA'S SPEECH.

11. A SEVENTEEN-MEMBER DRAFTING COMMITTEE (REPORTS DIFFER SLIGHTLY ON SIZE), INCLUDING THREE OR FOUR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, HAS BEEN DESIGNATED TO DRAFT A POLICY PAPER ON SOUTHERN AFRICA FOR THE OAU SESSION TO ADOPT. INCLUDED ARE ALGERIA, GAMBIA, GUINEA, GHANA, LIBERIA, ZAIRE, BURUNDI, SENEGAL, LESOTHO, KENYA, TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA. PRESIDENT NYERERE'S OPENING ADDRESS APRIL 7 WAS ADOPTED AS A CONFERENCE WORKING DOCUMENT.

12. COMMENT: POLICY OF CONTACTS WITH VORSTER ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA THUS CONTINUES TO BE DEFENDED WITH VIGOR, AND VORSTER'S COOPERATIVE EFFORTS CONSTITUTE EVIDENCE OF ITS EFFICACY. NEVERTHELESS, ARGUMENTS FOR UNRESTRAINED COMMITMENT TO ARMED STRUGGLE AND BREAKOFF OF ALL CONTACTS ARE LIKELY TO REMAIN STRONG, ESPECIALLY FROM THOSE OAU MEMBERS WHOSE GOVERNMENTS NEED TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR MILITANCY AT HOME AND WHICH UNLIKELY TO HAVE TO SHOULDER ANY OF THE SACRIFICES WHICH VIOLENT STRUGGLE IMPLIES. HENCE OUTLOOK IS STILL UNCERTAIN WHETHER TANZANIA AND ITS COHORTS (THE "LUSAKA MANIFEST-MOGADISCIO

DECLARATION GROUP) WILL CARRY THE DAY.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETINGS, MEETING PROCEEDINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 10 APR 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: MorefiRH
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975DARES01030
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750124-0917
From: DAR ES SALAAM
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750464/aaaacgmy.tel
Line Count: 286
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 DAR ES SALAAM 1016
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: MorefiRH
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <14 MAY 2003 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <14 MAY 2003 by MorefiRH>
Review Markings:

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Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SECOND DAY OF OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS SESSION
TAGS: PFOR, XA, TZ, OAU
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006